1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The Kûrds, too, generally leave to the women the business of settling accounts with that regular, but unwelcome, visitor, the tax-gatherer.

On the arrival on one occasion of this functionary at the camp of the Haidarânlû, a large and wealthy tribe established in the plains to the north-west of Van, he was politely received and treated with black coffee and tobacco in the tent of the chief, Ali Agha, who courteously informed him that he was at liberty to enter the different tents for the collection of the sheep tax. Once in the tents, however, the tax-gatherer soon perceived that while he was striving to get hold of everything he could detect, the object of the women was to conceal from him all they could. Out of interests so opposed a collision naturally soon arose, and a shower of vituperation, followed by an attack with sticks and stones, assailed the unlucky official, who was finally rescued from the hands of these fair furies by the men of the tribe, and carried for safety to the tent of the chief. Ali Agha now gave him the friendly advice to get from the women all they were willing to give and return at once to Van, thanking Allah that no worse had befallen him. "My good fellow," he concluded, "what can you do with women? They will have their way. Take the money and be off."

In 1854 there passed through Constantinople on their way to the seat of war a band of Kûrdish cavalry led by a woman named Kara ("Black") Fatmé Hanûm. Save for the decoration for which blood in her eyes there was, however, nothing Amazonian in the

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1890) 1891
MAII Kurd MAII
Kurdish MS10

aspect of this female warrior, who is described as having been a little shrivelled up old woman.'

Among the nomad and peasant Kirds, as might be expected, very little attention is paid to education. The sedentary Kirds in Sulaimaniah and other centres, are not, however, wholly uneducated, as they have Mullahs, or Doctors of Divinity, of their own nation to expound the Moslem law and teach in the colleges. The wives and daughters of the learned Kirds are also taught at least to read and write Persian, which is the literary language, for Kirdish literature is almost non-existent, notwithstanding an attempt made early in the century by some Mullahs to publish works in that language. The Kirdish tongue is not connected either with Persian or Turkish, and it contains as many dialects as there are tribes. Constant intercourse has, however, naturally resulted in the introduction into their idiom of a great number of Turkish, and especially of Persian, words. Poetic feeling often manifests itself among Kirdish women, who compose many graceful and touching songs, of which the theme is generally some social or tribal event.

The members of the Yezidi sect, who belong to eleven different tribes, and number between seven and eight thousand families, are said to entertain a strong prejudice against learning of any kind, and their ignorance is proverbial among the people by whom they are surrounded. With the exception perhaps of the higher grades of the priestly caste, the men are consequently totally without education, and their women are naturally in a similarly benighted condition.

* [illegible], *The Yezidis*, p. 130.

is native to the town, although one is related to the chief mukhtar. It is interesting that a substantial number are Christians, for in contemporary Egypt it is commonplace that Coptic Christian students are at a disadvantage with their Muslim instructors and fellows. Here the roles are reversed: the Christian instructor can be placed in some embarrassment by his Muslim pupils. Most rural schoolteachers, such as those of Rawanduz, are young men of poorer families, graduates of the teachers' college in Baghdad, and, while the hierarchy of the Iraqi civil service, occupy a low position indeed. They are not highly paid (and can hardly afford the amusements of the others), and are to some extent looked down upon by town folk administrators, army and police officers. Because of such disabilities, instructors have the not undeserved reputation of being an easy prey to extremist political formulae, and are subject to some official distrust and scrutiny. With meticulous conduct required of him in addition to his other complaints, the teacher is apt to feel his lot is extremely unhappy, if not precarious. On the other hand, the teacher, because he is often courted by the fathers of his pupils, is likely to play a much wider part in the social life of the town than, say, an army officer, and to enjoy considerable prestige among the lower classes, a role among these last which will be returned to later.

Playing a part in the social life of the town far greater in importance than any which it might normally

posture in the formal administration to the army. It would be ungrateful to speculate on the character or strength of strategic installations throughout the district, as these constitute an important link in the chain of defenses which guard the northern frontier of Iraq. It is possible, however, to make some cogent general remarks concerning the unit which has its training headquarters near Rowanduz, and since commandant, a colonel, has prestige and power equivalent to that of the principal. On the southeastern bank of the Rowanduz river, between Rowanduz and Jindian, is located the garrison, quartered in a huge rectangular barracks enclosing an interior parade ground, constructed some years ago by the British. This building houses barracks, stores, offices, mess-rooms, and, with a few exceptions, everything necessary to the operation of the unit. Near it other parade and training grounds have been set up. Slightly closer to Rowanduz, below the road by the river, is a motley aggregate of small mud-brick dwellings which are used as married quarters for the non-commissioned officers. Most of the officers as are accompanied by their wives have their homes in Rowanduz.

The unit includes a large number of officers and enlisted men, and the ethnic origins of both groups are somewhat varied. The colonel was a Muslim Kurd, a major was a Nestorian Christian, one captain was a "Shereh Arab,"[1] and

[1]"Shereh Arab" is English usage; referred to as Ta'ziba, they prefer the term Abarsi, "easterner," themselves.

gether was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Shareh Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organization, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of motors arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a chaykhana where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowanduz, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlukan, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a

roadside <u>chaykhana</u> between Kwrlokan and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Rowandux keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kwrlokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Rowandux. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a <u>chaykhana</u>. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowandux itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rowandux and Jiadien, and some fifty men from Rowandux and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string. 265 [353]

The maintenance of a <u>shaykhana</u> can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the <u>shaykhana</u>, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The <u>shaykhana</u>, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the <u>qaimaqam</u> or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the town "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to maintain a <u>diwankhana</u> or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in <u>shaykhanas</u> will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk that these places harbor homosexuals (<u>hatiw baz</u>, "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which elicits knives.)

265 554 [577]

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[701] [578] [838]

differs little from that of the townspeople, but it is necessary to mention the drinking parties of the men. The Kurds of this area are not fond of alcoholic beverages, although a few of the chieftains have experimented with them, and it can almost be stated categorically that no person native to Rowanduz makes use of them. A "secret sinner" (the use of intoxicants is forbidden in the Quran) would have a difficult time, for his wife would be sure to find him out and carry the tale to Kinsmen, but there seems to be little desire, even among the young men and other persons disgruntled with the unchanging tempo of country life. Bayin Amina, the wife of Shakir Effendi, was married from an Ottoman family in an area of Turkey where drinking, separately, to be sure, of groups of men and women of the upper class was commonplace. She regretted, not the deficit of potables, but the cheerful woman's parties of her youth. With the officials and army officers it is quite otherwise, for many come from the great cities, or have had their training there, where inebriation is a standard form of entertainment. Some of the officers prefer beer, perhaps on the analogy of British officers, but the most popular is arrack (omnipresent in the Eastern Mediterranean: ouzo in Greece, raki in Turkey, zibib in Egypt, and 'arag in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq), a distillate of fermented grapes or dates flavoured with anise or mastika, gum arabic, and of great potency. It is poured in small amounts into tumblers and water is added, which, if the

262 273 [704]

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 NAII Bard NAII

ing his form of rule to that of the feudal sovereign in Simon, Persia: 178
«You are not the lord of a tribe, nor are your sons your tribesmen. 694
You may clothe them, feed them, and make them rich, but they are
not your cousins, they are but your servants» (ibid, p. 84).

When Bohtan rule was broken in 1851, Ottoman legal practice as 178
well as personal ambition achieved a footing in the area. This contributed 483
further to the breakdown of traditional principles, since it offered
individuals the opportunity to manipulate the two different systems,
traditional usage and Ottoman legal code, to their own advantage.
This most profoundly affected land tenure. All land, unless otherwise
registered, was deemed to belong to the Ottoman Sultan.
Though the rule existed that no whole village should be registered
as the property of any single person, this and other rules were gener-
ally overlooked. Thus leaders of tires, Begs, or in fact any other
person who could bribe a few witnesses, registered large tracts of
land as their personal property. Although actual power was of course
necessary to make these formal transactions effective so far as the
collecting of tax was concerned, the result was that a category of
landowner emerged for which there were no clear traditional prece-
dents, and their claims, when supported by power and supposed
Ottoman land code, could not truly be disputed. As a result, the
field was left open to individual exploitation on a much larger scale
than in Bohtan times, and the only effective checks were the above
mentioned threats to the personal safety of the exploiter.

COMPOSITE COMMUNITIES

In the Hamawand area, some local groups are found today where 563
tribally organized Hamawand exploit a non-tribal tenant population
(Mankjin) as a serf group. Such situations have come about by recent
military conquest, and show incipient developments of a caste system.
Certain aspects of organization have been developed by the Hama-
wand as an adjustment to this situation.

The Hamawand formal political structure already outlined was 701 •
also a military hierarchy of command. Each village was expected to
muster a group of horsemen, usually 10—15, led by the village *Agha*,
as a fighting unit in the Hamawand army. Each of these soldiers,

usually called *silliman*-, owned at least one horse and one rifle, and kept a constant large supply of ammunition. During their periods of insurgence, it was difficult for the Hamawands to obtain such supplies. An informal symbiosis was therefore established with merchants in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who, in return for furnishing the items that the Hamawands needed, were permitted to pass through the area with their other goods. The Hamawands used Turkish Mauser rifles, and made their bullets of soft lead. As late as 1949, swords and lances were still employed.

When a Hamawand boy reached the age of 7, military instruction began — «just like soldiers are trained». The father supervised the training, and according to legend, any boy who did not show sufficient fearlessness was chased out of the area. After the youth had killed his first man in battle, or otherwise showed himself worthy, he was given the full status of *silliman*, and generally a present from the *Agha* — a horse, a good rifle, or a quantity of stolen animals for sale.

The village *Aghas* were expected to mobilize the *silliman* of the village at short notice for service in the larger units, led by the *Aghas* of the major branches of the Hamawand. But the village *Agha* was also free to initiate raids or conquest himself. A small group of *Aghas* from closely related villages might get together and contribute forces to the venture, or a single village might undertake the enterprise. Thus a war-party was formed, under the leadership of one *Agha* or one senior *Agha*. If the purpose was not looting of caravans, but conquest, some as-yet unconquered village was chosen as the object of attack, and the normal procedure would be for the group of *silliman* to ride in a body to the village and offer the inhabitants an ultimatum. If the village surrendered, one of the Hamawand party was sent in to collect taxes. If the village chose to resist, it would be attacked, and if the Hamawand gained entry they would rob the village of all movable property, as well as domestic animals, and carry it all away. The defeated villagers, unable to continue their agricultural work without implements and animals, would then normally send a delegation to the victorious Hamawand village, promising submission for return of the property.

?: Earth E-S (1951)- 1953 NA11 Hard NA11

in the village as a whole[1]). Any conspicuous excesses in celebration are however tempered by given ideals of moderation.

To summarize: the *feast*, in its various religious and personal applications, offers a forum for competition and rivalry between persons, especially in the field of wealth, but this aspect is somewhat tempered by ideals of moderation and control inherent in the other scales by which individuals are evaluated. Furthermore, these communal or semi-communal occasions formalize the relative prestige positions of individuals, as seen by other individuals, and by the group as a whole. These prestige hierarchies find expression especially in situations where a regular order of serving or eating is observed. When all the tea comes out of the kettle, one somewhat, individuals must necessarily be served in a sequence. In Kurdish culture, as in most other cultures, the *first* position in a sequence, and in fact precedence in general, is regarded as symbolic of status. These occasions thus necessarily come to express a status hierarchy, and that in a familiar context where the symbolism is clear and rivalry for relative places constrains. In eating, in serving, and in any sequence of appearance, this rule is followed. In the fluid type of hierarchy found in the Kurdish villages, where status positions are not crystallized in a formal structure, but are constantly being re-evaluated in terms, in the final instance, of the common denominator of *power*, it is essential that some mechanism is found whereby relative status and power can be compared and made public by non-violent means. Characteristically, practically all the major communal occasions in the villages of Southern Kurdistan involve several instances where this hierarchy can become expressed.

RAIDING AND WARFARE

The final and most spectacular occasion for the emergence of leadership and the expression of a status hierarchy is offered by the

[1]) The ritual slaughter of animals has a general significance as a sign of respect — when an important visitor arrives, the throat of a sheep is cut just before the visitor approaches, so that the blood may flow across the road just as he passes over.

situation of armed conflict. The conceptual separation of peace chief and war chief, frequently found in other societies, is lacking in the Kurdish area; thus the leader in war is also the leader in peace, and differences in total status organize the men of a local community in a single, universally relevant hierarchy of individuals. The pertinent questions in the present connection regarding armed conflict are thus concerned with who initiates it, and what the extent and nature of his following is. 721 701

As pointed, of course, external administration prevents large scale conflicts of any kind, and this kind of leadership is rarely expressed, and then only in a limited field. In the autonomous Kurdish system, on the other hand, conflicts of all kinds were endemic, and the following discussion relates primarily to the patterns as freely expressed up till the nineteen twenties.

In the tribal political system, political office directly involved leadership in war, and each *Agha* and *Beit* in the hierarchy was responsible for mustering, and vested with the command of, a specified number of rifle-men. The same correspondence between civil and military command was characteristic of the feudal organizations of the non-tribal areas, and e. g. of the temporary organization established by Shaikh Mahmud.

The *Agha* of a village could also independently initiate war parties — a development carried to the extreme in the case of the Hamawands. Such war or raiding parties also served as steppingstones for political advancement — the Hamawand who conquered a village would sooner or later break loose from the *Agha* that backed him, and constitute himself as an *Agha* on his own right. In the non-tribal areas, this was more easily done, and the successful marauder might carve out a small domain for himself. In the tribal system, the raiding parties directed towards the conquest of land were generally composed of near kin, who were, in fact, relieving local village population pressure and looking for a new place to settle down. The feudal lord, on the other hand, recruited his soldiers where he could, though there was a conscious attempt, as pointed out in the discussion of Baban organization to utilize tribal solidarity and use smaller groups of tribesmen to control larger groups of non-tribal peasants. Thus,

leadership in war parties, and resultant conquest, was a major path of status mobility.

Raiding parties, not aimed at conquest, but merely at the looting of caravans or hamlets, tended to be more open in composition. Competent riflemen-adventurers from various villages would congregate under the command of some charismatic leaders in the terminology of the external administration, and follow him as long as his luck lasted. Characteristically enough, the Hamarwada form an exception to this usual pattern. Adapting their whole society to an economy based on war and looting, they also developed a singular form of professional ethics connected with these activities. Not only were even the incidental raiding parties apparently organized in the same pattern as village administration; rules of fair play were also developed. According to the accounts of their opponents as well as their own law, women were never harmed or even searched in the raids on caravans — if you were able to slip your money-bag to a woman without the Hamarwada noticing it, your money was safe — if the woman was keeper! Moreover, if the hour for prayer found them in the middle of battle, they would each in turn get off their horse and go through the complete ritual, after which they would again charge into the turmoil!

The ordinary brigand, apart from this Hamarwad[illegible]peculiarity, qualified himself in the eyes of the villagers by a high rating on the scale of honor and bravery, as well as a fairly consistent run of good luck. In spite of persistent efforts on the part of the external administration, brigandage and raiding continues — though on a greatly reduced scale — and this must primarily be due to the positive value given to this type of bravery. The ideal which the brigand should approach is closely similar to our conception of Robin Hood. At the time of my visit, a certain bandit and murderer by the name Kalla Pisa was active in the area. For all practical purposes he seemed to regard himself as involved in a blood feud with the police — and the stories circulating about him had a familiar Robin Hood ring. They involved stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, miraculous feats such as visiting the police inspector's home and forcing him to serve up a luxurious dinner, being gallant to the ladies, etc. etc.

A person exhibiting similar virtues to a lesser degree will normally tend to lead the local worship society of his own village, and is the type of person who frequently makes his career as the minister of a feudal lord, thereby attaining district but probably considerable powers. 701 * 579

An occasional legitimate expression for this type of leadership today is the spaewr, organized on a village level e. g. when cattle is stolen, on a larger scale when cooperating with the police in tracking a brigand. It should be noted, incidentally, that such assistance on the part of a whole district or tribe is only accorded to the police when the police has made himself obnoxious to the villagers of the area in question. 128

possibly on the instigation of the Ngoni, because he was said to have corrupted the morals of the youth.

Health services need not concern us. In the area studied there is no resident doctor outside the city of Ndola.

The Government have made various departments in agricultural matters chiefly with a view to improving the level of livestock and the quality of relative crops such as tobacco. The Government's interest in the improvement of the tobacco crop is especially relevant to the area here described. Details will be discussed later but it may be pointed out that Government assistance of this kind is not a philanthropic enterprise. The heavy excise duty levied on all exportable tobacco each year more than repays any expenses incurred.

The Independent Judiciary functions through the court in Ndola. In practice however it is in the nature of appeal court, since in the first instance cases come before the Ndola (administrative) magistrate and then before the Ba'ile Bwalo (district magistrate) before being referred to the court. I am not clear as to the rules governing "appeal" of this sort, nor as to the limits of sentence that can be imposed by the magistrates' courts. So far as I know, only serious cases such as homicide automatically go before the court at Ndola.

During time of peace the military are stationed only at Ndola and Kawambwa. There appears to be a general attitude of suspicion and conflict as between the civil and the military authorities. In this area the civil service is staffed mainly by Bemba and Tonga and in time to general inclination Bemba-phil. The army on the other hand is staffed mainly by Ngoni-Lenje whose hatred and fear of the "barbarous Bush" can be taken for granted.

The Area is divided into several districts (Mbusa) each presided over by a District magistrate (Ba'ile Bwalo). Area A, Map 1 with which this account is mainly concerned lies wholly within the Mbusa of Kawambwa. The Ba'ile Bwalo is responsible for the District in much the same way as the Mchemmili is responsible for his Area.

The Mbusa in turn is subdivided into several sub-districts (Amalipa) over which presides a Mukilo. The Mukilo tribe all reside within the Amalipa Mukilo - the administrative district in this case coinciding with the tribal one. Incepts on the other hand is administered from Kawambwa.

The Mukilo has in his direct control a number of policemen who provide the direct liaison between the external authority and the tribe. It is the reality of these junior officials which is the most feature of the system, and which is the real source of